DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 152 607 SO 010 477

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TITLE Local Representatives in Connecticut: Sex Differences in Attitudes towards Women's Rights Policy.
SPONS AGENCY Rutgers, The State Univ., New Brunswick, N.J. Center for the American Woman and Politics.
PUB DATE Sep 77
NOTE 53p.; Paper presented at Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Washington, D.C., September 1-4, 1977); Not available in hard copy from EDRS due to poor reproducibility of original document
AVAILABLE FROM Susan Mezey, Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201 (free)

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DESCRIPTORS Changing Attitudes; Civil Rights; Civil Rights Legislation; *Comparative Analysis; Data Analysis; Decision Making; *Females; *Feminism; *Legislators; Local Government; Local Issues; *Males; Policy Formation; *Political Attitudes; Political Issues; Politics; Power Structure; Sex Role; Sex Stereotypes; Social Problems; Social Science Research; State Officials; Surveys; Tables (Data); Values
IDENTIFIERS *Connecticut

ABSTRACT

The research investigated the relationship of a person's sex to his or her public policy preferences, with particular regard to women's issues. Women's issues are reflected in public policy which directly affects women's lives. Examples are day care facilities, sex bias of educational materials, and abortion facilities. The study was conducted to ascertain whether women's interests are concentrated in certain areas and whether female politicians place women's policy issues on a higher level of importance than male politicians do. The hypothesis was that female politicians would not indicate more concern or more expertise in women's public policy areas than would men. One hundred Connecticut municipal council-members (50 female and 50 male) were questioned about policy preferences, interests, and areas of expertise. Findings indicated that although women were more concerned about social problems than men, their interests were not limited to this area. Also, women expressed more support for feminist issues than did men; however, they did not maintain a higher level of support of these issues over other issues. In summary, women were more influenced by their role as politicians than by their role as women or supporters of women's policy. There was insufficient evidence to confirm or deny the original hypothesis. The recommendation is for additional research on other manifestations of policy preferences such as introduction of legislation or votes in the council chamber. (Author/DB)

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LOCAL REPPRESENTATIVES IN CONNECTICUT: SEX DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN'S RIGHTS POLICY

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This research was partially supported by a grant from the Center for the American Woman and Politics, Eagleton Institute, Rutgers University.

Prepared for delivery at the 1977 Annual Meeting of The American Political Science Association, The Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C., September 1-4, 1977.

SP 010477

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Local Representatives in Connecticut: Sex Differences in Attitudes Towards Women's Rights Policy*

The state of Connecticut is particularly well suited to a study of local government since the key to political participation of the citizenry of the state are the town meetings and the local town governing bodies in the hundred and sixty-nine towns within the state. With increasing size and need for specialization, more and more towns have changed from the local town meeting's direct democracy to representative government with representative bodies within each municipality assuming a larger role in decision-making for the town or city. Although it would be naive to assume that the local municipality is able to provide redress for all the problems that the locality faces -- either because of personnel or financial limitations -- many important decisions are still made at the community level. Traditional areas of concern for local governments include property tax rates, education of the young, road and sewer repair, recreation facilities, police and fire protection, and zoning. Quite frequently federal and state money is needed to solve problems in these areas; however, to a greater or lesser extent, depending upon the issue, decision-making at the local level is a viable and important element in community life. Ideally, the system works well because "first, programs can be adapted to particular needs; hence a great deal of variation and experimentation is possible. Secondly, responsibility is at its maximum where officials are closest to the electorate."[1]

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*I would like to thank the several people who helped in gathering the data for this study, and especially Brian Allen and Ron Duby for performing above and beyond the call of duty.

With its emphasis on local government, Connecticut is also a good site for the study of women in politics since women are more often found at this level and are supposed to be closer to traditional local government concerns. It has often been suggested that women are more easily accepted at the local level than they are at other levels and that women political leaders are more locally oriented than men political leaders.[2] Because feminists are greatly concerned with the pursuit and use of female political power, one might expect local women politicians to feel pressured to identify with the needs of women and to speak for these needs in the representative institutions in which they serve. Since feminists are primarily interested in the extension of their power into influence in policy matters, women politicians would be a natural target of their objectives -- to lobby for policy changes that affect the status of women.[3] Although it is a matter of some debate whether all women politicians concur in these objectives, there is little doubt that the populace has certain expectations that the election of increasing numbers of women will create changes in the political system. Clearly, the efforts of women's groups to increase the numbers of female elected officials is evidence of this expectation.

It must also be noted that other groups have negative evaluations of the growing number of women entering politics. These are based upon a concern for women's ability to withstand the arduous demands of political office and their inability to cope with the often harsh realities of the policy-making process.[4] Regardless of the direction, expectations concerning the role of women in politics are based upon an assumption that women are different from men as political actors, that women have different areas of interest and expertise from men, and that women will accord a higher priority to women's policy issues than men will.

Public opinion notwithstanding, it has been found that women do not specialize only in policy areas that are thought to be traditional areas of concern for women, that women are not necessarily stronger advocates of women's policy, and that they do not see themselves primarly representing feminists or fighting for those issues which feminists would like to see implemented as policy; in short, women are not inclined to be distinct from men in policy preferences simply on the basis of sex.[5]

The apparent contradiction between the popularly held view of female politicians (by both feminists and non-feminists) and research on women politicians suggests a need for further investigation. We will therefore explore the relationship of sex to public policy preferences, especially with regard to women's issues, in the Connecticut setting with the following null hypotheses:

1. Women politicians will not express more concern about, nor claim more expertise in certain public policy areas than men.

2. Women politicians will not express more support for women's public policy issues than men will.

Since there is sufficient ambiguity about the direction of the proposed findings, we will analyze the data using a two-tailed test with .10 as the level of significance.[6]

Before proceeding to identify the sample in this study, we must make explicit the notion of "women's public policy." Women's policy has been defined by Debra Stewart as "public policy which directly impacts upon women by overtly or covertly shaping their life chances."[7] One has only to glance at a few sources on the subject of women to acquire a comprehensive list of such concerns. Specifically, the Women's Agenda of 1975 which developed out of the International Women's Year conference at Mexico City names the chief political issues affecting the status of women.[8] Our concern

is more narrowly with policies that may be within the reach of local political officials and they include such items as pre-school and after-school public daycare facilities, local police investigations of rape and battered-wife charges, sex bias of materials in the local public schools, zoning and restriction of abortion facilities in clinics and local hospitals, and equal opportunities for women within the local political or bureaucratic structure. In her discussion of the Women's Movement, Ethel Klein mentions these issues as examples of the Movement's efforts to eliminate sexual stereotypes in our culture.[9] Although implementation of such policies cannot occur entirely at the behest of local officials, at a minimum, local politicians can initiate policy changes and provide a forum for debate of these political issues as they do for other political issues within the community.

The Sample

The fifty female politicians interviewed for this study were selected from a sample drawn from towns and cities in the state of Connecticut which had women serving on local representative institutions; the 1976 volume of the Connecticut Register and Manual (the Blue Book) listed seventy-nine municipalities with women on their town boards or councils. These towns ranged in size from tiny Union with 490 people to metropolitan Hartford with a population of over 150,000. Most larger cities in the state are governed by a Board of Aldermen or City Council of varying sizes and are a consolidation of the old town and city governments. The smaller municipalities continue to be governed by a Board of Selectmen usually with three members.

The female sample was drawn from the one hundred and thirty-seven women who served as local representatives on boards and councils in 1976-77. Because of the diversity of population size among towns, we divided the municipalities into five size categories and the number of women from each of the five groups was calculated as a percentage of the total number of women in office (137); this percentage was then computed as a percentage of the total sample size (50). The female officeholders were all numbered and randomly chosen from a table of random numbers until the five size groups were each filled. A corresponding sample of male officeholders was then selected by matching the ages and party affiliations of the women members from the same towns or cities. Whenever possible, respondents were also matched by length of time in office. The matching procedure was relaxed when circumstances required as in small towns with only a three-member Board of Selectmen; in every case, however, females and their matched male respondents were members of the same board or council.

The total number of towns and cities involved in the survey was forty-one and Table 1 illustrates the number of respondents and towns that were sampled within each of the five size groups.

Insert Table 1 Here

Demographic and Attitude Data

A comparison of the median ages and number of years in office as well as the political party affiliations of the respondents reveals that the matching attempts were quite successful. The median age for women in the sample was 47.7, for men 45.5, with the median number of years in office 2.3

years for women and 2.9 years for men. Fourteen women and eleven men held executive positions on their councils, such as President of the Council or First Selectman. Party membership was rather unevenly divided between Democrats and Republicans which undoubtedly reflects the Democratic majority in the large cities. However, within each party, there was a good balance between the sexes.

Analysis of the variables not controlled by matching shows that men and women respondents were fairly evenly matched in most of the other demographic and attitudinal variables. Sex did not differentiate among respondents in socio-economic status, mother or father's occupation, religious affiliation, marital status, or political philosophy, nor did it differentiate in support for the Women's Movement and Equal Rights Amendment, or self-identification as a feminist. There were significant differences between women and men in current family income, level of education, and occupation. The data in Table 2 summarize these relationships. In this and all subsequent tables, unless noted, differences are not significant at the .10 level of significance.

Insert Table 2 Here

Table 2 reveals few significant differences between the sexes. It indicates that most respondents are currently married or had been married before; only two men and two women in the sample classified themselves as single. The largest religious group was Catholic, with Protestant next largest. There were merely a handful of Jewish and Greek Orthodox adherents.

Respondents mostly described themselves as political moderates, with slightly more conservative men than women. The vast majority of respondents hailed from working class or middle class origins; men were slightly more likely to come from the working class although the differences were not significant at the .10 level. A similar class difference between men and women politicians had been noted in other studies.[10] Finally, there were no significant differences between the sexes in their attitudes towards the Women's Liberation Movement and Equal Rights Amendment; most respondents considered themselves basically sympathetic to the Movement, most favored ratification of the ERA. A majority of respondents did not identify themselves as feminists, although it is interesting to note that more men did so than women.

Differences between the sexes reached the level of significance in three related categories: men were slightly better educated than women, had a slightly higher family income and a much higher occupational status. Again, these findings were quite consistent with those noted in other studies of male and female party activists and political leaders.[11] Since education, income, and occupation vary directly with each other, these differences all seem to describe the same phenomenon, i.e., men are recruited into public office from higher status occupations, with accompanying higher incomes and more advanced levels of education. From this one might speculate that women are more inclined to use political office for upward mobility while men are more inclined to see political office as a means of furthering careers that have already been set in motion. The high percentage of women who classified themselves as homemakers adds support for this explanation.

Concentration of interests and expertise

The stereotypical image of the political woman denotes a slavish attention to social welfare, education, consumer protection, and traditional

morality and humanistic values; however, the literature suggests a modification of that image.[12] In an effort to resolve this controversy, respondents were asked to name three of the most serious problems affecting the state of Connecticut at the present time. Table 3 indicates responses to this question.

Insert Table 3 Here

The data in Table 3 show very few differences between women and men. Most agreed that finances and taxation were serious problems that the state had to contend with -- the ongoing debate within Connecticut about the imposition of a state income tax could account for this. Social problems and industrial relations were also listed as serious problems by respondents. Although not asked to rank issues in order of importance, it is nevertheless obvious that the local politicians considered these three the most serious. Differences between the sexes appeared in mention of social problems and industrial relations. These barely reached significance at the .10 level and the remaining issues were not statistically differentiated by sex. Since the type of responses specified in the broad area of social problems and industrial relations include police and fire protection, law and order, and legalized gambling for the former, and unemployment and labor personnel relations for the latter, there is sufficient ambiguity involved in their selections to refrain from rejecting the first null hypothesis on this evidence.

Respondents were also asked to name policy areas in which they considered themselves particularly expert. Even though stereotypical views of the sexes would probably hold that men would be more inclined to think of

themselves as experts than women, the opposite is true for this sample. Sixty percent of the women and only forty-four percent of the men indicated that they were expert in any policy area. Although this difference is not statistically significant, it is interesting because it belies the traditional image. When asked to specify which policy area they felt especially knowledgeable about, most women pointed to a type of social problem. Men were rather evenly divided into several different policy areas; however, the majority cited financial policy as their area of expertise. None of these differences were significant at the .10 level. Table 4 lists the areas of policy expertise mentioned by respondents.

Insert Table 4 Here

Some evidence exists that women feel more strongly about certain issues; however, in general they did not significantly differ from men in citing specific issues which they felt were important to the state, nor in citing policy areas about which they professed to have greater knowledge. Frieda Gehlen's analysis of female members of the House of Representatives resulted in similar findings: an indication that women are more interested in certain areas of legislation than men but not enough evidence to conclude that women "specialize" in specific policy areas to the exclusion of others.[13] It is also interesting to note that neither women nor men mentioned any women's policy issue on their lists of important issues in the state, nor did any respondents claim expertise in an area of women's public policy. Whatever differences have appeared between the sexes, they do not relate to disagreement over the importance of women's policy. Such policy was not considered important enough to mention by either sex. We will now turn to the question of whether women's support for women's policy is greater than men's.

Representation of Women and Women's Issues

We approached the second hypothesis in a number of different ways. We wanted to examine the notion that women politicians are more sensitive to women's policy issues, including the election of women to public office, and more responsive to demands from a female constituency. The main element of concern here is not so much whether women are sensitive and responsive but whether they are more so than men and therefore whether the election of more women to office will produce those policy changes which feminists desire and non-feminists fear.

One of the cornerstones of feminist policy is the election of more women into public office, both as a symbol of power and influence within the system and as an asset in implementing women's policy issues. Such policy is predicated upon the notion that women politicians will assume special responsibility for the interests of women in society by fighting for passage of pro-feminist laws. Furthermore, feminists argue that women in society expect women politicians to take such positions and that politicians should be responsive to this clientele. We asked the Connecticut politicians a series of questions about the numbers of women in political office, the responsibility that women politicians have towards their female constituency, and whether they should fulfill that responsibility by promoting women's policy within their individual representative institutions. We also asked whether they felt that women in the state expected them to do so. Table 5 presents the responses to these questions.

Insert Table 5 Here

The data in Table 5 illustrate that women were in far more agreement than men that there were too few women in public office in the nation. Moreover, there were significant differences between the sexes on all the questions: women were also in greater agreement with the propositions that women politicians have special responsibilities to represent women, that women representatives should take leading positions on women's issues, and that women in society look to women in office to take such positions. The greatest disagreement arose over the concept of representation of women's issues by female politicians; a majority of women approved, almost none of the men did. The differences were much less dramatic, although still significant, in their views on how women should fulfill that responsibility and whether women in society expected them to do so.

These questions suggest that women and men think differently on the subject of representation of women and women's policy issues. However, when we attempted to test the women's commitment to their views on representation, we found the views generally not sustained in their political experiences. Women were asked whether they ever conferred with other women politicians over women's policy issues and sixty-four percent indicated that they had never done so. Furthermore, sixty-one percent of those who said they did confer, stated that they did so rarely. When asked whether they had ever campaigned on any women's issues, only two women and one man said that they had vaguely discussed daycare in previous campaigns.

We were also interested in testing their level of knowledge in the area of women's public policy and the Women's Movement. Respondents were asked to name leaders of the Women's Movement and most of them were able to name at least one; there was no statistical difference between the sexes in their ability to do so. However, since both women and men tended to name women presidents

of the PTA and other local personalities as leaders of the Movement, this question provided comic relief rather than reliable data.

We then asked respondents to name three women's political issues and the final tally of answers indicated that most were acquainted with the concept of women's policy and could accurately name the various issues that are associated with this policy. Table 6 shows the issues cited by respondents and the frequency with which each was cited. Although respondents were not asked to rank these issues in any way, the table demonstrates that the three top issues were the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion, and equal employment opportunities for women. With the exception of the latter, there were no significant differences between the sexes in the type of issue mentioned nor in the frequency with which each was mentioned.

Insert Table 6 Here

To summarize the data thus far, women and men did not differ in their ability to identify women's issues; moreover, between them, they were able to name most of the items listed on the Women's Agenda and cited in the literature on the Women's Movement. There was a difference between the sexes in their views on representation of women's issues and women politician's responsibilities to their female constituency. Since one manifestation of concern for an issue is to discuss this issue in campaigns with the constituency or to consult with colleagues on strategy, we asked the women whether they had recently campaigned on any women's policy issue and they overwhelmingly replied in the negative. In addition, most indicated that they had never conferred with other women politicians about women's policy. The picture presented is that of women who believe that they have special ties to the 'women out there' and a special commitment to advocate their views but whose differences with the men are limited to verbal distinctions rather than behavioral differences.

Support for Women's Policy Issues

A politician's campaign might be an unreliable indicator of her/his political priorities so we felt it necessary to examine the notion of representation further to ascertain whether women are more likely than men to show support for women's policy issues.

This question was investigated in two ways: first, respondents were asked to agree or disagree with six statements concerning attitudes towards women's policy issues; and secondly, respondents were asked to rank a number of political issues, including three women's issues, in order to determine the relative priority accorded to them. The questions measuring support for women's public policy issues are presented in Table 7.

Insert Table 7 Here

These data show that women were slightly more favorable than men towards these policy statements; however, with the exception of support for daycare facilities, there were no significant differences between the sexes at the .10 level of significance. Moreover, the data also indicate that except for the issues of affirmative action for women politicians and repeal of prostitution laws, both women and men supported the feminist position on the policy issues. These findings are consistent with those of other studies which reported a generally high level of support for women's policy among active political participants.[14]

Five of the statements were then combined into a feminist policy index using a principle component factor analysis (the rape issue was dropped because it did not load well on the index). Table 8 demonstrates the factor

loadings for each item as well as the mean index scores for men and for women. The significant difference of means on this Feminism index suggests that, when taken as a whole, sex differentiates among respondents in their attitudes towards women's policy issues.

Insert Table 8 Here

Before rejecting the second null hypothesis on this evidence, we felt it necessary to continue testing women's support for the feminist position by asking them to rank three women's issues in competition with other general political issues. We are all familiar with the maxim that politicians tend to support issues until more important issues come along, especially when a commitment of funds is necessary to implement policy changes. Therefore, we asked respondents to rank order seven issues that we felt represented realistic choices for the favor of local politicians and over which these politicians could exert local control. The issues were: improving roads and public transportation facilities, electing more women to local government offices, providing greater public access to government leaders, increasing the number of quality daycare facilities for working parents, improving the quantity and quality of public recreation areas, fighting air and water pollution, and establishing local rape crisis centers. We assumed that these issues would be potentially attractive issues for local politicians; certainly at least two of the women's issues were perceived as such as seen in Table 7. Table 9 presents the way in which each issue was ranked, the rank order as seen by the mean rank for each issue, and the differences between the sexes in their ranking of each issue. The issues are listed in the order in which they were ranked by the women (the mean of the rank).

Insert Table 9 Here

In order to reject the null hypothesis we would have to find that women ranked the three women's issues as their top priorities and that there were significant differences between the rankings of the men and the women on all the issues. The pattern that is shown in Table 9 is very different, however. Judging by the mean ranks, women ranked their issues such that the three women's issues were placed in the third, fourth and sixth order of importance; men placed the women's issues in the third, fifth and sixth ranks. Thus, there were no real differences in the general importance value assigned to these issues. Similarly, there were no differences in the importance attributed to access to public leaders; both sexes ranked this issue last. Perhaps this can be explained by the super-availability of local public officials. Most local municipal representatives, especially in the small towns, are highly attuned to public wishes, and therefore are not likely to see access to themselves as a serious problem. The differences arose mostly in the ranking of the first two issues: men ranked roads and transportation highest with public recreation second, while women put pollution first followed by roads and transportation.

Significant differences between the sexes appeared in the internal ordering of six of the seven issues; however, the direction of the several relationships casts doubt upon the stereotyped image of women politicians. While public recreation is a social welfare issue that women are "supposed" to be more interested in, these women felt that it was not that important. Pollution could be considered a technological problem that women would leave

to men but these women gave it their highest priority. Thus, there does not seem to be a consistent pattern to their preferences. Similarly, men are thought to be unconcerned about the problem of rape, yet appeared to rank it higher than women did.

The data presented by the ranking procedure suggest that women's greater support for feminist issues, as indicated by the Feminism index, is not sustained when they are forced to rank these policy issues in competition with other political issues. While it is true that women differed from men in ranking the issues, neither sex evidenced much support for the women's issues. A possible explanation for these findings is that women politicians may be more committed to a feminist position than men are; however, when asked to consider the importance of these issues relative to other political issues, their support for women's policy tends to dissipate and their positions converge with those of the men. Many respondents expressed the view that women's political issues do not exist as such, that only "people's issues" exist. Such an attitude indicates a desire to de-politicize women's policy and by so doing, relegate such issues to positions of lesser importance. In sum, while women and most men could express favorable attitudes towards women's public policy in isolation, they could not maintain their high level of support in the face of competition from "real" political issues.

The data point to contradictory evidence in consideration of the second hypothesis. We have shown that women's views differ from men's on representation of women's issues, and slightly differ on support for feminist policy positions. We have not been able to show, however, that these attitudinal differences are linked to behavioral differences. In fact,

the only measures that we have of behavioral differences show that women in office do not behave differently from men with regard to women's policy. Women do not campaign on these issues, they do not consult others on them, and they do not have greater knowledge about them than men do. Therefore, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected but neither can it be wholly accepted. The analysis suggests that we must continue to study women in politics to determine whether differences in attitudes will be followed up by similar differences between the sexes in type of legislation introduced or votes cast within the council chamber. Preliminary evidence suggests that the latter distinction will not be forthcoming. Further investigation in these and other representative institutions is necessary to increase our understanding of sex differences in public policy preferences.

Dimensions of Women's Rights Issues

Recent literature on the subject of women's policy and women's rights suggests several dimensions of support for issues of the women's movement, specifically with regard to the propriety of women as politicians and equal opportunities for women politicians. Such dimensions usually include attitudes towards specific women's policy issues, as illustrated in the Feminism index, as well as attitudes towards the role of women in politics and support for women politicians.[15] One of the problems with this literature is that it is based upon samples of women only so while it tells us that dimensions exist, it does not tell us whether sex is attitudinally related to them. The literature also cites other variables -- demographic and attitudinal -- which have been found to be related to these dimensions. These variables usually include age, occupation, religion, education and political philosophy, as well as approval of the Women's

Liberation Movement and greater equality for women. In order to determine whether such dimensions exist in these data, and which, if any, correlates are related to them, we factor analyzed a battery of twenty-four agree-disagree questions relating to attitudes towards women's opportunities to achieve leadership positions in political office, women's ability to combine marriage with their political career, women's role in the political arena, and expressions of support for the Women's Movement and Equal Right Amendment. Specifically, respondents were asked whether women have to work harder than men, whether they will ever be accepted by men, and whether sex hinders their effectiveness and presents special problems for women. They were asked if women politicians have more marriage problems than other women do, if women have to neglect their families, and if their children suffer. Questions also tapped support for feminism and a greater role for women in political life. Finally, we inquired about assumptions of traditional femininity among women politicians and whether these were considered advantageous for women or not. Four factors were found to exist among these variables and Table 10 presents the items comprising each factor and the factor loadings.

Insert Table 10 Here

Items that loaded high on Factor I, "Equal Opportunity," related to the belief that women were being denied an equal role in the political system and that they have a more difficult time than men achieving leadership positions within political institutions. The positive direction of the loadings (with the exception of the question asking whether women are generally given the same opportunities as men to get elected to public office) indicate

agreement that sex is a detriment to women in politics. This factor presents a pessimistic picture of women's activities in the political arena, a picture that shows that women are not appreciated there and will not succeed in climbing the ranks into real political power. Moreover, the factor suggests that it is primarily the men that are excluding women and making life more difficult for them in politics generally and in local politics in particular.

Factor II, "Marriage Problems," is comprised of items citing difficulties that women encounter in political life. The positive direction of the loadings indicate a belief that politics causes severe disruption to their home environment and life styles with the family suffering as a consequence. Clearly, this factor identifies all the stereotyped notions of women politicians who sacrifice their private lives for their public roles. Interviews with political women, as illustrated by Kirkpatrick's state legislator study, are often centered around this problem and the women are always eager to assert that their lives do not conform to the stereotyped patterns.[16] Regardless of the validity of the assumptions about women politicians, we have evidence that they are held by these councilmembers, especially the men.

The third factor, entitled "Feminist Movement," consists of attitudes towards the Women's Movement and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, as well as self-identification as feminists and a belief that the country would be better off if women had more to say about politics. Positive high loadings on Factor III reveal a pro-feminist attitude and sympathy for efforts to create greater equality between men and women in American society. This factor comprises attitudes of approval of the formal

and most visible aspects of the Feminist Movement and it should be noted that men were more sympathetic to the Women's Liberation Movement and more likely to identify themselves as pro-feminist.

Factor IV, "Traditional Femininity," reveals a traditional image of women, one in which women are helped in their political surroundings by their feminine charm, their idealism, and their ability to achieve if they want to. Items that load high on this factor suggest that women in politics are not hampered by sex; they could participate more if they wanted to and they enjoy special assets in campaigns. In other words, this factor is evidence of a view that sees advantages to being a woman in politics, advantages which are based upon a traditional view of women and femininity.

Before correlating these factors with sex, we determined that we were indeed tapping different dimensions by performing intercorrelations among the four factors. Table 11, presenting the matrix of intercorrelations, indicates that the four factors are almost entirely unrelated to each other. The significance level of the correlations was well over .10 for all relationships. Thus, we have assurance that we have found four genuinely different sets of attitudes.

Insert Table 11 Here

Sex and Women's Rights Policy

Since the major independent variable of this study is sex, we wanted to determine how different women and men were in their views on the four subjects suggested by the factors. Table 12 reveals the mean factor

scores and levels of significance of the mean differences in each factor. Differences between the sexes reach significance in Factors I and II. The table illustrates that women are more sensitive to charges of discrimination against women in politics and are less inclined to view their personal commitments at home as insurmountable obstacles to their political careers. When taken together, the difference between the means of Factors I and II suggests that women politicians are cognizant of being outsiders and judged on different standards from men, especially when they are unfairly accused of neglecting their families to engage in political activities.[17] Whether this concern is prompted by self-interest or by genuine ideological feelings of oppression which can be generalized to sympathy for other women in society is the subject of much controversy among feminists.

Although the differences between the sexes were not significant in Factors III and IV, the direction of the individual means suggests that men may be more positive toward feminism in the formal sense and that women may view traditional femininity in political life with greater approbation than men.

Insert Table 12 Here

Table 13 presents a correlational analysis of sex and the four factors and Feminism index as well as correlations with a variety of demographic and attitudinal variables. These are background and current status attributes which have been cited in a number of other studies on women's rights policy.[18] The analysis will discuss sex as an independent variable first and then move on to consider the others as independent variables.

Insert Table 13 Here

The difference of means test in Table 12 had suggested that the difference between men and women reached significance for Factors I and II and not for Factors III and IV. Table 13 now illustrates that there is a strong significant relationship between sex and Factor I. The positive correlation indicates that women were more inclined to agree that sex is a hindrance to political women than men were. One study of women in corporate setting shows that proportions or relative numbers of types of people in a group can have effects on interaction dynamics.[19] When women exist as a small minority of the dominant population, especially in a situation where women are not "generally" accepted, they may develop reactive responses, such as increased awareness of the differences between the two groups. Although this study by Rosabeth Moss Kanter dealt mainly with perceptions of the dominants, the males, it is certainly plausible that the fears and apprehensions revealed by the Connecticut women might be their perceptual responses to existing as tokens in a sex-skewed group.[20] Kanter suggests that the outgroup, or the tokens, develop a greater awareness of the differences between themselves and the dominant group. It is possible that this feeling also provides the explanation for the differences between men and women in Factor IV. One of the responses to a feeling of difference is an acceptance of the stereotyped role; clearly a position of traditional feminity fits this role. Tokens may take upon themselves the caricatures of the role that others may expect them to have. Without personal observation and closer investigation, it is impossible to do more than speculate about the nature of the relationships between the men and women who serve as councilmembers; however, the evidence at hand suggests that the theory of skewed sex dynamics may lead to greater understanding of political women.

The negative signs in the correlation between sex and Factors II and III indicate that men are more skeptical about women combining political careers with the homefront; however men are also more inclined to be positive about the Women's Liberation Movement, the Equal Rights Amendment, and feminism. Since these views would seem to contradict each other, further explanation is called for. Carol Tavris' study of attitudes towards liberation suggests that there are men who fall into a category of "unliberated liberals."[21] Such men show a formal commitment to the goals of the WLM but their behavior falls far short of their ideological commitment. We believe that men in our sample fit into this category as well. Although the Connecticut councilmen are favorable towards the idea of an equal status for women, when their views are tested by asking whether women can act out the scenerio of liberation, they fail the test. As one councilman put it, "I thought I was liberated, but I am not yet ready to burn my T-shirt for women's rights." This statement seems to typify the male view and might account for the differences between women and men on the second and third factors.

The preceding discussion suggests the necessity for looking beyond abstraction in ascertaining views on feminism; the men are less feminist than they appear. What about the women? Although these councilwomen voice approval of women's policy issues, whether they will pursue feminist goals in their political positions is another question. Clearly, the women have not visibly demonstrated their commitment to feminist positions; when asked whether they were viewed by their male colleagues as feminists, a huge 80% said no, they were not. They may therefore be keeping their feminist rights under the proverbial bushel -- well under indeed. Why? Other studies of councils suggest that the behavior of councilmembers is often

determined by the institutional setting in which they operate; role perceptions and policy attitudes may be the result of interaction with fellow councilmembers or socialization by the political environment of the state or the municipality.[22] Studies such as Kenneth Prewitt's San Francisco City Council study suggest that early political socialization does not account for subsequent political orientations of councilmembers and we can use this analysis to help explicate our own findings.[23] Women feel more strongly about women's political issues than men do, yet they appear just as unlikely as men to use their positions as political decision-makers to obtain changes in women's policy. An explanation for this may be that women are more influenced by their roles as politicians than by their roles as women or supporters of feminist positions. Their roles as politicians are determined, at least in part, by their political environment and we suggest that it is the institutional setting which attenuates and even negates women politicians' pro-feminist attitudes. Since the women usually, if not always, operate as a minority in this setting, it is plausible to assume that their views would be the first to be compromised.

Correlates of Women's Rights Policy

Among the background and current status variables which relate to the five indices, political philosophy is most highly correlated. Liberalism is mildly associated with sensitivity to discrimination against women in politics and more strongly related to support for liberation and feminism and the women's public policy issues; differences are significant for all relationships. Liberalism is negatively related to views on the salience of marriage problems and support for traditional femininity of women politicians. These relationships are somewhat weaker than the two above, although still

significant. Education is mildly associated with the Equal Opportunity factor and has a stronger relationship to the Traditional Femininity factor; in the latter, possession of a college education makes one less inclined to view traditionalism in a positive light. Political party is associated with the indices relating to marriage problems, feminism, and feminist political issues; Democrats hold stronger views in the egalitarian or liberated direction. The only other significant relationships that exist are between age and traditionalism (older people view it more positively), religion and the Feminism index (non-Catholics are more favorable), marital status and the Opportunity factor (married people are more aware of inequality in politics), and mother's occupation and the Marriage factor (those with professional mothers are less concerned about marriage problems for women in politics).

Table 13 reveals that past socialization experiences such as socio-economic class, and mother's and father's occupation are largely unrelated to attitudes towards women's rights policy. Variables measuring current socialization influences such as family income, religion, marital status and education and occupation are only minimally related, if at all, to these attitudes. Age and length of time in office are similarly unrelated. The two variables that are most highly associated with the indices are political party and political philosophy. Liberalism and affiliation with the Democratic Party vary directly with egalitarian attitudes towards women and women's policy. The absence of relationships between socialization influences and attitudes towards women's issues provides further support for the earlier stated proposition that the political environment (of which party and political ideology are a large part) provides the strongest cues

for the actual behavior of women politicians with regard to feminist issues. Perhaps the addition of greater numbers of women in public office will change the environment and prod the institutions to become more attuned to women's interest and thus provide legitimacy for women's feminist proclivities. Such legitimacy might allow women politicians to come out in public by campaigning on women's issues and consulting with colleagues on how to implement women's policy among other things. However, it should be noted that Connecticut was the first state to elect a woman governor in her own right and the environment remains basically unchanged with regard to feminist issues.

Taken as a whole, the attitudinal variables, satisfaction with the number of women in office, responsibility of women politicians to represent women's interests, and support for feminism, the Women's Liberation Movement and Equal Rights Amendment demonstrate the strongest relationships with the four factors and the Feminism index. These relationships indicate that feelings towards the role of women in politics are strongly tied to approval of women's policy issues. The data does not indicate a causal relationship between these variables and we suggest the need for further investigation to determine this.

As a final check on these relationships, we performed a series of partial correlations of sex and the indices while controlling for several variables. The variables controlled for were those which had a moderate relationship with one of the indices (only correlations of .2 and above were included). Political party, political philosophy, education, and religion among the socialization variables were used for controls, along with all the attitudinal variables. Table 14 shows the zero order correlations of sex with the five indices as well as the first order correlations using the individual control variables.

Insert Table 14 Here

As one would expect, many of the correlations shifted a bit with the control of an independent variable. The most dramatic shift occurred when the scarcity of women and representation responsibilities of women politicians variables were controlled for, especially with regard to the Feminism index and Factor III. Concentrating first on Factor III, the Feminist Movement factor, we note that the relationship with sex becomes stronger and more significant when these variables are controlled for. In the case of the Feminism index which had been moderately associated with sex, the correlations became almost minimal and a significant relationship was reduced to insignificance. In other words, when the confounding effects of these two variables are removed, men become more feminist and women become less feminist, that is, men are even more likely to approve the formal accoutrements of feminism and women are even less likely to support feminist policy positions. The most plausible explanation for this phenomenon is that these two attitudes make important contributions to attitudes towards feminism per se and the issues of the feminist movement. When women are more feminist, they are primarily supporting a greater role for women in political office. Similarly, men are more likely to approve the formalities of a feminist movement but are somewhat less likely to sanction the rise of women in political office and a stronger representation of women's interests in political institutions. With this evidence, it is problematic whether a mere increase in the numbers of women in public office will produce the policy changes that feminist desire; however, we won't know this until we have enough women to test the proposition.

Summary

Testing the two hypotheses with which we began this study revealed that while there were some differences between the sexes in their affinity for certain issues, these differences were neither persistent nor systematic. We found that while women expressed more support for feminist policy positions than men did, they did not accord a higher priority to women's policy issues when the importance of these issues was ranked in comparison with other, non-women's, political issues. Women also did not display any behavioral manifestations of their feminism such as naming women's policy issues as important issues or campaigning on feminist positions as one would campaign on better roads or lower taxes, nor did they consult with political allies on strategy for implementation of women's policy issues. Indeed, the vast majority felt that they were not identified with the feminist movement by their male colleagues. Thus, in the strict sense of women's political issues, the attitudinal differences between the sexes appeared to be without consequences. We speculated that the cause for this could be found in the restraints imposed on women by their role as politicians and by the institutional setting which limits itself to dealing with traditional political issues in local government and curbs interest in non-traditional issues such as women's policy issues.

We found the greatest, most consistent differences between the sexes on the subject of women as political issues. Women disagreed with men about the severity of marriage problems for women politicians, the presence of discriminatory forces at work in the political environment, and the proper number of women in politics. Men were much more satisfied with the numbers of women presently holding political office in the nation. Men were also less willing to see women play a strong role in representing the inter-

ests of women in society. Thus, the major division between the sexes revolves around support for women *per se* rather than support for womens' issues. We found evidence that these types of support were perceptually different and we suggested that the status of women's political issues may not improve with only an increase in the numbers of women in office unless these women are specifically committed to see such improvements brought into effect and not merely to express abstract support for feminist policy positions.

TABLE 1

Number of Women Respondents And Number of Towns Sampled In Each Size Category

Size of town	Number Women Samples[a]	Number towns sampled[b]
Under 5,000	5	5
5,001 to 15,000	11	10
15,001 to 25,000	12	12
25,001 to 50,000	6	5
Over 50,000	16	9
Total	50	41

[a]Men were selected from the same towns as the women

[b]More than one woman representative was selected in the following municipalities: Monroe (2); Manchester (2); Danbury (2); New Haven (3); Waterbury (2); and Stamford (4)

TABLE 2

Demographic And Attitude Variables By Sex

Current Status Variables	% Women (n=50)	% Men (n=50)
Political Party		
Democratic Party	62[a]	68
Republican Party	36	30
Independent Conservative Party	2	2
Education*		
Less than high school degree	2	0
Less than college degree	44	28
College degree	38	44
Post-graduate degree	16	28
Political Philosophy		
Liberal	22	20
Moderate	62	50
Conservative	16	30
Current Family Income**		
Less than 10,000	7[b]	0
$10,000 to $14,999	13	6
$15,000 to $19,999	31	26
$20,000 to $24,999	22	28
$25,000 and over	27	40
Occupation***		
Professional	26	42
Self-employed business, managerial	6	34
Clerical and sales	12	4
White collar	12	8
Skilled and semi-skilled	2	12
Unskilled	0	0
Farm owner, manager	0	0
Homemaker	34	0
Retired, part-time, disabled	8	0
Religious Affiliation		
Catholic	48	48
Protestant	34	36
Jewish	6	12
Greek Orthodox	4	2
None	8	2
Marital Status		
Married	86	96
Single	4	4
Divorced/separated	2	0
Widowed	8	0

TABLE 2 (Cont.)

	% Women (n = 50)	% Men (n=50)
Age (Median age = 46.1)		
27 through 45	44	50
46 through 70	56	50
Number of years in office (Median = 2.4)		
1 through 2	58	46
3 through 12	42	54
Background Status Variables		
Mother's Occupation		
Professional and managerial	12	8
Non-professional and managerial	88	92
Father's Occupation		
Professional and managerial	45	45
Non-professional and managerial	55	55
Socio-economic status of origin		
Working class	46	56
Middle class	50	42
Upper class	4	2
Attitude Variables		
Attitude towards WLM		
Sympathetic	74	80
Unsympathetic	26	20
Self-description as feminist[c]		
Identification as feminist	36[d]	43[d]
Non-identification as feminist	64	57
Ratification of ERA		
In favor of ERA	72[d]	72[d]
Against ERA	28	28

*Tau_c = .22 $p < .05$ ** Tau_c = .24 $p < .05$ *** Cramer's V=.62 $p < .001$

[a]Totals for each variable equal 100% for each sex
[b]n = 45
[c]Male respondents were asked whether they described themselves as pro-feminist
[d]n = 49

TABLE 3

Important Issues In Connecticut By Sex

Issue	Percent Mentioning Issue[a] Women	(n)	Men	(n)
Finances (taxes, inflation)	74	(37)	86	(43)
Environment (ecology, zoning)	12	(6)	10	(5)
Government organization and leadership (state and local)	24	(12)	16	(8)
Social problems (education, public safety, crime, urban decay)*	62	(31)	42	(21)
Energy and oil conservation	20	(10)	28	(14)
Transportation (roads and mass transit)	10	(5)	4	(2)
Industry and employment (economic development and unemployment)**	58	(29)	76	(38)

* phi = .20
$p < .10$

** phi = .19
$p < .10$

[a]Percentages exceed 100% because of multiple responses

TABLE 4

Expertise Of Local Politicians By Sex

Policy Area	Percent Claiming Expertise Women (n=30)[a]	Men (n=22)[b]
Finance	23.3	31.8
Environment	10.0	22.7
Government organization	10.0	22.7
Social problems	53.3	18.2
Industry and employment	3.3	4.5
Total	99.9	99.9

[a]20 women (40%) denied expertise in any policy area
[b]28 men (56%) denied expertise in any policy area

TABLE 5

Attitudes Towards Number Of Women in Office
And Representation Of Female Constituency
By Female Politicians By Sex

Attitude	Percent Agreeing: Women (n=50)	Men (n=50)
There are too few women in political office in the nation*	96	62
Women politicians have special responsibilities to represent the interests of women in society**	56	12
Women local representatives should take leading positions on women's issues***	68	48
Women in society look to women in office to take leading positions on women's issues****	82	62

*phi = .41 $p < .001$

**phi = .46 $p < .001$

***phi = .20 $p < .10$

****phi = .22 $p < .05$

TABLE 6

Women's Issues Named By Respondents By Sex

Issue	Percent Mentioning Issue[a] Women	(n)	Men	(n)
Legal equality	16	(8)	20	(10)
Equal Rights Amendment	48	(24)	48	(24)
Rape	4	(2)	4	(2)
Daycare facilities	20	(10)	16	(8)
Abortion	44	(22)	46	(23)
Equal employment opportunities*	46	(23)	26	(13)
Equal rights for pregnant workers	10	(5)	2	(1)
Divorce laws	4	(2)	4	(2)
Social Security rights	4	(2)	2	(1)
Women in politics	8	(4)	4	(2)

*phi = .20
$p < .10$

[a]Percentages exceed 100% because of multiple responses

TABLE 7

Support For Women's Public Policy Issues By Sex

Policy Issue	Percent Supportive: Women (n=50)	Men (n=50)
Safe abortions should be made available to any woman upon request	62	62
The government should make available adequate daycare facilities for the children of working parents*	76	58
Local hospitals or health care centers should provide trained personnel to staff rape crisis centers in conjunction with the local police department	98	97
All laws making prostituion illegal should be repealed	38	21[a]
Women should be given first priority in state and federal political appointments until their number equals that of men in these positions	14	4
Our school system generally presents women in unfavorable stereotyped and biased images	48	38

*phi = .19
$p < .10$

[a] n = 48

TABLE 8

Factor Loadings And Mean Factor Scores For Men And Women On Feminism Index

Items	Factor Loading
Abortion	.56794
Daycare Facilities	.50680
Decriminalization of prostitution	.65731
Priority for women in political appointments	.49246
Awareness of sex bias	.39969

Mean Factor Scores

Sex	Mean[a]	T-value[b]	D.F.	Significance[c]
Women	-0.2225	-2.27	98	.026
Men	0.2214			

[a]Negative value indicates women are more feminist

[b]Negative value indicates women are more feminist

[c]2-Tailed Probability Test

TABLE 9

Ranking Of Political Issues By Sex With Mean Ranks Of Issues

Isrue	Rank	Percent Ranking Issue	
		Women (n=50)	Men (n=50)
Pollution	1	24[a]	6
	2	30	14
	3	18	24
	4	20	34
	5	2	12
	6	4	8
	7	2	2
Tau_c = .40[b]			
$p < .001$			
Mean rank of issue[c]		2.66	3.64
Roads and Transportation	1	20	48
	2	30	26
	3	14	18
	4	14	6
	5	12	0
	6	4	2
	7	6	0
Tau_c = -.39			
$p < .001$			
Mean rank of issue		3.04	1.90
Rape Crisis Center	1	34	18
	2	14	12
	3	6	24
	4	2	24
	5	12	10
	6	10	6
	7	22	6
Tau_c = -.01			
p = n.s.			
Mean rank of issue		3.64	3.38

TABLE 9 (Cont.)

Issue	Rank	Percent Ranking Issue	
		Women (n=50)	Men (n=50)
Daycare Facilities	1	6	6
	2	10	6
	3	20	8
	4	22	14
	5	16	30
	6	16	16
	7	10	20
Tau_c = .22			
$p < .05$			
Mean rank of issue		4.20	4.84
Public Recreation	1	0	20
	2	10	34
	3	22	16
	4	18	14
	5	16	10
	6	16	2
	7	18	4
Tau_c = -.56			
$p < .001$			
Mean Rank of issue		4.60	2.82
Election of women	1	10	2
	2	4	2
	3	14	6
	4	8	6
	5	20	18
	6	26	32
	7	18	34
Tau_c = .29			
$p < .01$			
Mean rank of issue		4.74	5.68

TABLE 9 (Cont.)

Issue	Rank	Present Ranking Issue	
		Women (n=50)	Men (n=50)
Access to Leaders	1	6	0
	2	2	6
	3	6	4
	4	16	2
	5	22	24
	6	24	32
	7	24	32
Tau_c = .15			
$p < .05$			
Mean rank of issue		5.14	5.68

[a]Numbers refer to percentage of respondents in each rank; columns for each policy issue total 100%

[b]Statistic refers to the differences between the way in which the women and men ranked each issue

[c]Mean rank refers to the mean rank of each issue for women and men individually.

TABLE 10

Factor Analysis Of Items Relating To The Role Of Women In Politics[a]

Item	Factor I[b]	Factor II	Factor III	Factor IV
Sex hinders women's effectiveness in politics (16)[c]	.51363	.06392	.15116	.10681
Women have to work extra hard to prove themselves (62)	.70560	.06392	-.12443	.10681
Women have special difficulty moving up into leadership hierarchy (40)	.59448	-.13142	-.04808	.16107
Women in local government have special problems (26)	.45233	-.26121	-.33934	-.01998
Women have some opportunities as men in local politics (73)	-.62248	.16781	-.08629	.15799
Women are not inside smoke-filled rooms with the men (21)	.44977	.20082	.15318	-.33815
Party hierarchy is last to see women's potential (34)	.69028	-.02144	-.04679	.02007
No woman can ever get to inner circle of power (26)	.53341	-.09539	.15423	-.23440
Women have to be twice as good to get ahead (45)	.70461	.13539	.13381	-.03288
Women get all the dirty work chores in politics (43)	.69870	.19581	.15839	.15645
Women have difficulty balancing demands of family and political career (72)	-.00295	.57351	.02568	.22082
Women politicians have to neglect families (24)	.05297	.70227	-.22632	.09076
Almost impossible for women politicians to be good wives and mothers (19)	-.03980	.75189	-.14170	-.09459
The children of women politicians suffer (50)	-.10420	.63114	-.16018	.04334
Women politicians have more marriage problems (32)	-.18269	.51661	.23247	-.18968
Successful women politicians have to sacrifice their femininity (16)	.13461	.51469	.06425	.04799

TABLE 10 (Cont.)

Item	Factor I[b]	Factor II	Factor III	Factor IV
Country would be better off if women have more to say about politics (59)	.00049	-.03268	.59840	-.07686
Basically sympathetic to WLM (75)	.23502	-.06309	.67255	-.07187
Self-identification as pro-feminist (39)	-.01470	.02265	.68331	.01821
In favor of ratification of ERA (72)	.03473	-.14743	.64546	-.00180
If women wanted wider participation in public life, they would have it (81)	-.33781	.13465	-.25503	.56405
Feminine charm and diplomacy are women's greatest assets in politics (58)	.01443	.17960	-.04417	.57642
Women in politics are more idealist than men (59)	.26130	-.16421	.02520	.57483
Women politicians have special assets in campaigns (67)	-.02228	.02826	.06352	.65974
% of Total Variance Explained =	17.6%	11.4%	9.1%	6.9% (45%)
% of Explained Variance =	39.1%	25.3%	20.2%	15.3% (99.9%)

[a]Factor pattern is varimax rotated factor matrix

[b]Factor I, Equal Opportunity; Factor II, Marriage Problems; Factor III, Feminist Movement; Factor IV, Traditional Feminity

[c]Number in parentheses refers to percent men and women supportive for each item

TABLE 11

Inter-Correlation Of Factor Scores (Pearson's r)

	Factor II	Factor III	Factor IV
Factor I	.0003	.0012	-.0025
Factor II		-.0017	-.0007
Factor III			-.0011

TABLE 12

Mean Factor Scores For Men And Women

Factor	Sex	Mean[a]	T-value[b]	D.F.	Significance[c]
I	Women	-0.3953	-4.29	98	.000
	Men	0.3962			
II	Women	0.2298	2.36	98	.020
	Men	-0.2306			
III	Women	0.0856	0.84	98	.405
	Men	-0.0817			
IV	Women	-0.1591	-1.60	98	.114
	Men	0.1582			

[a]Negative value indicates group more supportive of each factor

[b]Negative value indicates women more supportive of factor

[c]2-Tailed Probability test

TABLE 13

Correlations Of Factors and Feminism Index With Demographic And Attitude Variables (Pearson's r)
(n=100)

Current Status Variables	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Factor IV	Feminism Index
Sex[a]	.3972****	-.2316***	-.0842	.1592*	.2231**
Years in office	.0571	.0145	-.0675	.0373	-.0156
Political party[b]	.0390	-.2070**	.2726***	-.0174	.2739***
Age	.0865	-.1172	-.0619	-.1813**	-.0351
Education[c]	-.1348*	-.0310	-.0612	.2906***	-.0290
Political philosophy[d]	.1367*	-.2451***	.3499****	-.2147**	.3400****
Income[e]	.0265	.0489	-.0941	.0110	-.0837
Religion[f]	.0749	.0206	.1260	-.0353	.2934***
Marital status[g]	-.1318*	.0464	.0292	-.0342	.0931
Occupation[h]	-.0806	.0305	-.0658	-.0942	-.1117
Background Status Variables					
Mother's Occupation[h]	-.0256	-.1674**	-.0432	-.1085	-.0908
Father's Occupation[h]	.1276	-.0416	.1185	-.1074	.0693
SES[i]	-.0045	.0644	-.0268	-.0933	.0552
Attitude Variables					
Scarcity of women[j]	-.2097**	.1546*	-.1803**	-.1537*	-.3252****
Representation[k]	.2992****	-.0814	.1842**	.0595	.2778***
ERA[l]	.0363	-.1480*	1	-.0044	.2736***
Pro-feminism[m]	-.0147	.0221	1	.0182	.2905***
WLM[n]	.2348***	-.0636	1	-.0732	.3158****

* $p < .10$ ** $p < .05$ *** $p < .01$ **** $p < .001$

[l]Variable is contained in factor so correlation is misleading

TABLE 13 (Cont.)

[a]Coded: Female 1, Male 2

[b]Coded: Democratic Party 1, Republican Party 2

[c]Coded: Less than college degree 1, College degree or more 2

[d]Coded: Liberal 1, Non-liberal 2

[e]Coded: Below $19,999 1, Above $19,999 2

[f]Coded: Non-Catholic 1, Catholic 2

[g]Coded: Currently married 1, Currently non-married 2

[h]Coded: Professional, managerial 1, Non-professional, managerial 2

[i]Coded: Working class 1, Non-working class 2

[j]Coded: Too many or just the right number of women in office 1, Too few women in office 2

[k]Coded: Women politicians have special responsibility to represent women 1, Women politicans do not have special responsibility to represent women 2

[l]Coded: Favors passage of Equal Rights Amendment 1, Does not favor passage of Equal Rights Amendment 2

[m]Coded: Identifies self as feminist or pro-feminist 1, Does not identify self as feminist or pro-feminist 2

[n]Coded: Is basically sympathetic to Women's Liberation Movement 1, Is basically unsympathetic to Women's Liberation Movement 2.

TABLE 14

Zero Order And First Order Correlations Of Factors And Feminism Index With Sex (Pearson's r)

(n=100)

Demographic Variables

Factors	Zero Order Correlation With Sex	Controlling For: Political Party	Political Philosophy	Education	Pro-Religion
Factor I	.3972 S=.001	.4009 S=.001	.3977 S=.001	.4339 S=.001	.3999 S=.001
Factor II	-.2316 S=.010	-.2509 S=.007	-.2327 S=.010	0.2299 S=.011	-.2313 S=.011
Factor III	-.0842 S=.202	-.0693 S=.250	-.0991 S=.165	-.0743 S=.233	-.0824 S=.209
Factor IV	.1592 S=.057	.1584 S=.061	.1684 S=.048	.1117 S=.136	.1586 S=.058
Fem. Index	.2231 S=.013	.2509 S=.007	.2284 S=.011	.2327 S=.010	.2395 S=.008

Attitudinal Variables

Factors	Zero Order Correlation with Sex	Controlling For: Scarcity of Women	Representation	ERA	WLM	Pro-Feminism
Factor I	.3972 S= 001	.3486 S=.001	.3056 S=.001	.3975 S=.001	.4272 S=.001	.3972 S=.006
Factor II	-.2316 S=.010	-.1860 S=.033	-.2195 S=.015	-.2342 S=.010	-.2373 S=.010	-.2307 S=.011
Factor III	-.0842 S=.202	-.1784 S=.039	-.1951 S=.026	-.1101 S=.139	-.0481 S=.320	-.0499 S=.313
Factor IV	.1592 S=.057	.1058 S=.149	.1488 S=.071	.1592 S=.058	.1547 S=.065	.1608 S=.057
Fem. Index	.2231 S=.013	.1017 S=.158	.1106 S=.138	.2319 S=.010	.2598 S=.005	.2551 S=.006

FOOTNOTES

[1]League of Women Voters of Connecticut Education Fund, Connecticut In Focus (Connecticut: League of Women Voters, 1974), p. 204.

[2]See Edmond Constantini and Kennth Craik, "Women as Politicians: The Social Background, Personality, and Political Careers of Female Party Leaders," Journal of Social Issues, 28 (1972), especially pages 230-231; Martin Gruberg, Women In American Politics (Oshkosh, Wisconsin: Academia Press, 1968), p. 201; and, Wilma Rule Krauss, "Political Implications of Gender Roles: A Review of the Literature," American Political Science Review, LXVIII (December 1974), p. 1711.

[3]See Virginia Sapiro, "You Can Lead a Lady to Vote, But What Will She Do With It? The Problem of a Woman's Bloc Vote," in Dorothy McGuigan, (ed.), New Research on Women & Sex Roles (Michigan: Center for Continuint Education of Women, 1974), p. 221; she discusses feminist power and public policy.

[4]Frieda Gehlen discusses differences of opinion regarding the possible outcomes of increasing the number of women in politics. See her "Legislative Role Performance of Female Legislators," Sex Roles, 3 (February 1977), 1-18.

[5]See Jeane Kirkpatrick, Political Woman (New York: Basic Books, 1974); Frieda Gehlen, "Women in Congress," Transaction, 6 (October 1969), 36-40; Gehlen, "Legislative Role Performance of Female Legislators;" and, Emmy Werner, "Women In The State Legislatures," Western Political Quarterly, XXI (March 1968), 40-50.

[6]Because of a similar uncertainty about her findings, Gehlen also uses this low statistical measure of significance. See Frieda Gehlen, "Women Members of Congress: A Distinctive Role," in Marianne Githens and Jewell Prestage, (ed.), A Portrait of Marginality (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1977), p. 311.

[7]Debra Stewart, "Taxonomic Development in Women's Policy Studies: A Proposed Direction," in Sarah Slavin Schramm, (ed.), Methodological Issues in the Study of Political Women: A Symposium, unpublished manuscript, p. 3.

[8]The Women's Agenda was developed as the definitive list of issues which feminists wanted to see enacted as public policy. See also The Congressional Clearinghouse and Women Today, two publications which focus attention on women's policy issues within the political and bureaucratic arena.

[9]Ethel Klein, "The Rise of The Women's Movement: A Case Study In Political Development," in Dorothy McGuigan, (ed.), New Research on Women & Sex Roles (Michigan: Center for Continuing Education of Women, 1974), p. 212.

[10]Edmond Constantini and Kenneth Craik, "Women as Politicians: The Social Background, Personality, and Political Careers of Female Party Leaders;" and M. Kent Jennings and Norman Thomas, "Men and Women in Party Elites: Social Roles and Political Resources," Midwest Journal of Political Science, XII (November, 1968), 469-492.

[11]See Constantini and Craik, "Women as Politicians: The Social Background, Personality, and Political Careers of Female Party Leaders;" Jennings and Thomas, "Men and Women in Party Elites: Social Roles and Political Resources;" Paula Dubeck, "Women and Access to Political Office: a Comparison of Female and Male State Legislators," The Sociological Quarterly, 17 (Winter 1976), 42-52; and, Patricia Kyle, "Socialization And Recruitment Patterns Of Women In Party Elite In North Carolina," paper prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 1974.

[12]Although there is some truth behind the stereotyped image, i.e., many women are interested in these issues, reality demands a much expanded view. The "myth" and the reality are discussed in Kirkpatrick, Political Woman; Werner, "Women In The State Legislatures;" Gehlen, "Legislative Role Performance of Female Legislators;" and, Gehlen, "Women in Congress."

[13]Gehlen, "Legislative Role Performance of Female Legislators."

[14]See Susan Hansen, et al., "Women's Political Participation and Policy Preferences," Social Science Quarterly, 56 (March 1976), 576-590; and Wilma McGrath and John Soule "Rocking The Cradle Or Rocking the Boat: Women At The 1972 Democratic National Convention," Social Science Quarterly, 55 (June 1974), 141-150.

[15]Two of the studies found these dimensions in separate factor analyses of attitudes towards women's issues. See Susan Welch, "Support Among Women for the Issues of the Women's Movement," The Sociological Quarterly, 16 (Spring 1975), 216-227; and John Reynolds and Roberta Sigel, "Feminism and Socio-Political Attitudes Of College Educated Women," paper prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 1977. Both studies are based upon attitudes of female respondents only. Two examples of other studies which treat sex-role attitudes as multi-dimensional, also based upon female samples, are Karen Oppenheim Mason, et al., "Change in U.S. Women's Sex-Role Attitudes, 1964-1974," American Sociological Review, 41 (August 1976), 573-596; and Karen Oppenheim Mason and Larry Bumpass, "U.S. Women's Sex-Role Ideology, 1970," American Journal of of Sociology, 80 (March 1975), 1212-1219.

[16]See Kirkpatrick, Political Woman, chapters 3 and 9.

[17]Kirkpatrick, Political Woman; Marianne Githens, "Spectators, Agitators, or Lawmakers: Women in State Legislatures," in Marianne Githens and Jewell Prestage, (eds.), A Portrait of Marginality (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1977), 196-209; and, Elizabeth King, "Women in Iowa Legislative Politics," in Marianne Githens and Jewell Prestage, (eds.), A Portrait of Marginality (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1977), 284-303.

[18]Liberalism was found to be associated with sex-role attitudes in Marjorie Random Hershey and John Sullivan, "Sex-Role Attitudes, Identities, and Political Ideology," Sex Roles, 3 (February 1977), 37-57; Carol Tavris, "Who Likes Women's Liberation -- and Why: The Case of the Unliberated Liberals," Journal of Social Issues, 29 (1973), 175-198; and, Reynolds and Sigel, "Feminism and Socio-Political Attitudes Of College Educated Women." Age, party, education, religion, and mother's education have been variously cited in the following studies as correlates of sex-role attitudes or support for women's issues: Mason and Bumpass, "U.S. Women's Sex-Role Ideology, 1970;" Mason, et al., "Change in U.S. Women's Sex-Role Attitudes, 1964-1970;" Susan Welch, "Support Among Women for the Issues of the Women's Movement;" Stan Albrecht, et al., "Public Stereotyping of Sex Roles, Personality Characteristics and Occupations," Sociology and Social Research, 61 (January 1977), 223-240; and, Donna Brogan and Nancy Kutner, "Measuring Sex-Role Orientations: A Normative Approach," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 38 (February 1976), 31-40.

[19]See Rosabeth Moss Kanter, "Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women," American Journal of Sociology, 82 (March 1977), 965-990. Although this study focused on female executives in industry, the analogy to politics seems apt.

[20]Token is not necessarily meant in a perjorative way; it symbolizes the position of the outsider or the single member of a group in an environment of dominant others. See Rosabeth Moss Kanter, "Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women," p. 968.

[21]Carol Tavris, "Who Likes Women's Liberation -- and Why: The Case of the Unliberated Liberals."

[22]See, for example, Bryan Downes, "Municipal Social Rank and the Characteristics of Local Political Leaders," Midwest Journal of Political Science, XII (November 1968), p. 537.

[23]This theme was suggested in Kenneth Prewitt, et al., "Political Socialization and Political Roles," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXX (Winter 1966-1967), 569-582.